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Thursday, 19 April 2012, 3 p.m.

New York

President:	Mr. DeLaurentis	(United States of America)
Members:	Azerbaijan	Mr. Musayev
	China	Mr. Wang Min
	Colombia	Mr. Osorio
	France	Mr. Briens
	Germany	Mr. Wittig
	Guatemala	Mr. Rosenthal
	India	Mr. Hardeep Singh Puri
	Morocco	Mr. Loulichki
	Pakistan	Mr. Tarar
	Portugal	Mr. Portas
	Russian Federation	Mr. Pankin
	South Africa	Mr. Sangqu
	Togo	Mr. Menan
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Parham

Agenda

The situation in Guinea-Bissau

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The meeting was called to order at 3.15 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Guinea-Bissau

The President: In accordance with rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite the representatives of Angola, Côte d'Ivoire and Guinea-Bissau to participate in this meeting.

On behalf of the Council, I welcome the participation at this meeting of the Minister of External Relations of Angola, the Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation of Guinea-Bissau and the Minister of State and Foreign Affairs of Portugal.

Under rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite Mr. Joseph Mutaboba, Special Representative of the Secretary-General and Head of the United Nations Integrated Peacebuilding Office in Guinea-Bissau, to participate in this meeting.

On behalf of the Council, I welcome Mr. Mutaboba, who is joining today's meeting via video teleconference from Bissau.

Under rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite Her Excellency Ambassador Maria Luiza Ribeiro Viotti, Permanent Representative of Brazil, in her capacity as Chair of the Guinea-Bissau configuration of the Peacebuilding Commission, to participate in this meeting.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

I now give the floor to Mr. Mutaboba.

Mr. Mutaboba: Thank you, Sir, for this opportunity to brief the Security Council on the most recent developments in Guinea-Bissau.

Following the 12 April military coup, which was unanimously condemned by the international community, including the Secretary-General and the Security Council, on 13 April some members of the armed forces claiming to be a military command took responsibility for the coup and provided, as justified reasons, the alleged existence of a secret agreement between the Government and Angola to legitimize, through a mandate of the African Union Peace and Security Council, an intervention by the Angolan armed forces. The military command stressed it did not want power and had been forced to act in self-defence by attempts by the Government to annihilate the armed forces. A document was later circulated by opposition parties on 18 April purporting to be a copy of a letter from the Prime Minister to the Secretary-General, requesting an extraordinary meeting of the Security Council to discuss the internal situation following the non-acceptance of the election results, and the deployment of a peacekeeping force.

The military command, on 13 April, also outlined its immediate goals as, first, removing obstacles to security sector reform; secondly, fighting drug trafficking and consumption so as to restore the internal and external image of the country, and consequently attract foreign investment; thirdly, tackling the culture of impunity; and finally, ensuring continuity of the process of building a democratic State based on respect for basic human rights and freedom of speech.

Responsibility for the coup, although claimed by a military command, has been endorsed by the armed forces general staff and its positions exclusively conveyed by the spokesperson of the armed forces and chef de cabinet of the chief of general staff, Lieutenant Colonel Daba Na Walna.

On 13 April, the military command invited the political parties to consultations on restoring constitutional normality. Twenty-three political parties accepted the invitation, including the Party for Social Renewal and extra-parliamentary parties. The ruling African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC) has not attended any of the meetings. Two propositions were put forward, first, a constitutional transition envisaging restoring constitutional order through appointing the current interim president of the National Assembly as interim President and asking the majority parliamentary party, the PAIGC, to nominate a Prime Minister and form a Government inclusive of other parties; and secondly, a non-constitutional transition involving the dissolution of Parliament and the creation of a national transitional council, the appointment of a transitional President and a national unity Government under a transitional Prime Minister. On 15 April, 16 of the 23 parties opted for the non-constitutional proposition and some abandoned the table. A major point of discord was the period of the transition, with some arguing for a two-year transition,

while others wanted it to last until November 2012, when legislative elections were planned.

The PAIGC issued a statement on 14 April condemning the coup and calling for the unconditional release of its leaders and their reinstatement. On 16 April, the five presidential candidates contesting the electoral process also issued a statement condemning the coup.

There have been some attempts by the population and civil society to protest, but marches by youth and women have been met with a harsh reaction from the military, which has restricted freedom of assembly and expression by forbidding public marches and closing down private radio stations. A march on 15 April was violently dispersed, with at least one demonstrator seriously injured when a military officer slashed his legs with a bayonet. Freedom of speech — through the radio — and freedom of assembly have been restricted. On 15 April, the two trade union confederations, the National Workers' Union of Guinea-Bissau and the General Confederation of Independent Trade Unions, condemned the coup and called on all workers to stay away from work until constitutional order had been restored.

Overall, while Bissau and the rest of the country appear calm, with life apparently returning to normal, the environment remains tense and volatile, leading to a reportedly unusual exodus of people from Bissau to the countryside. While shops on the whole remain open, the banks have been closed since the coup, but may reopen soon. It is unclear how the military authorities hope to pay civil service salaries in a few days' time, although the military command has announced that banks will reopen on Monday. A continued crisis would fatally impact the cashew-trading season, which is crucial to the economy and the livelihood of the population. A humanitarian crisis is a distinct possibility.

There have been strong voices of condemnation of the coup d'état from multilateral and bilateral partners of Guinea-Bissau. The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the Community of Portuguese-speaking Countries (CPLP), the African Union (AU), the European Union (EU) and the International Organization of la Francophonie have joined the Secretary-General in condemning the unconstitutional coup in Guinea-Bissau. They are all unanimous in calling for the restoration of the constitutional order and the release of the detained leaders. Many have also called for the conclusion of the interrupted electoral process.

The CPLP and the African Union have further suggested that targeted individual sanctions be applied to the military and political leaders associated with the coup. The AU and the International Organization of la Francophonie have suspended Guinea-Bissau from participation in their organizations until constitutional order has been restored, while the African Development Bank and the World Bank have announced the suspension of their development programmes in Guinea-Bissau.

At the bilateral level, a number of countries have also issued strong statements condemning the coup. The ECOWAS position was further reiterated by a mission visiting Bissau on 16 April. The mission, led by the President of the ECOWAS Commission, met with the military command, the five candidates contesting the election process, and a PAIGC delegation. The mission said that it had transmitted a clear message that ECOWAS stood by its zero-tolerance policy towards the unconstitutional takeover of power. ECOWAS also clarified that Guinea-Bissau would be suspended from the organization should it fail to restore constitutional order.

The President of the ECOWAS Commission said that the military had undertaken to comply with the requests and that ECOWAS stood ready to assist them with the modalities. A few hours after the departure of the ECOWAS mission, the armed forces spokesperson ruled out the return of Carlos Gomes Júnior to power and said that there would be no presidential run-off.

On 18 April, an agreement between the armed forces and the political parties was signed for a two-year transition, the dissolution of Parliament, the destitution of the Government and of the interim President, and the maintenance of the military leadership.

With regard to the Angola military technical assistance mission, whose withdrawal was announced, I have learned that consultations between the military command and the Government of Angola on withdrawal are ongoing. The Government of Angola, through its embassy in Bissau, promised to notify international partners when the mission departs. On that note, I would like to pay tribute to Angola for a successful mission, which, unfortunately, became a

casualty of the deep-rooted political and military conflicts in Guinea-Bissau. Angola has not only contributed to the maintenance of stability in Guinea-Bissau over the past year, but it has also provided infrastructural support for the armed forces as part of its contribution to implementing the security sector reform road map.

This is clearly a political-military coup. Irrespective of the motives of the perpetrators, this act will go into the history books as one more coup that took place under the eyes of the United Nations and hence those of the whole international community. It will also be described as an act of military insubordination to the democratically elected civilian authorities almost two years after the ECOWAS/CPLP road map was adopted. We could have done more, and I believe that we can do more.

I also hope that all Bissau Guinean partners will learn from this latest setback that time is critical in whatever we intend to do in Guinea-Bissau. Had we moved quicker in providing the necessary resources for security sector reform, which would have allowed for the demobilization and retirement programmes to take off, we might not be discussing this matter this evening.

Finally, I would like to note that one of the problems of the Bissau Guinean polity is exclusionary solutions. The negotiations that are under way today are again based on the exclusion of an important actor in the political life of Guinea-Bissau, the current parliamentary majority PAIGC party. Other political forces, though minor, have not subscribed to the negotiations or their outcome. I believe that the parliamentary parties should be closely involved in any solution based on commitment to the restoration of constitutional order and addressing the question of inclusion.

It is therefore extremely important that the international community not be seen to be endorsing solutions that exclude part of the population or important national stakeholders. I call attention to the fact that any solution that excludes the PAIGC and other parliamentary parties would be a recipe for a future crisis and a negation of the will of the people as expressed through elections in 2008.

The President: I thank Mr. Mutaboba for his briefing.

I now give the floor to His Excellency Mr. Mamadú Saliu Djaló Pires, Minister for Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation of Guinea-Bissau.

Mr. Pires (Guinea-Bissau) (*spoke in Portuguese; English text provided by the delegation*): Allow me to express my deepest appreciation for this opportunity to convey to this highest entity of the coalition of nations, on behalf of the Government legitimately established for the eighth legislature and chosen by the majority of the Guinean people, current realities in Guinea-Bissau, and to request approval for a targeted resolution aimed at facilitating the country's return to democratic normality.

As the Council is aware, on the night of 12 April a self-proclaimed military command decided to carry out a violent takeover of the presidency of the country, after having made an attempt on the life of the Prime Minister and presidential candidate, imprisoning him along with the interim President of the Republic. The latest news indicates that their intention is to dissolve all institutions of sovereignty and establish new transitional structures in the country.

At any time and in any circumstances that would constitute a flagrant violation of the law and would thus run counter to the universal principle of the subordination of defence and security forces to a democratically established political regime. In the case of Guinea-Bissau, this rebellion is particularly serious because it is the result of a known pattern of behaviour that the armed forces have exhibited several times; because it is designed to reverse the will of the Guinean electorate regarding their choice for the new President of the Republic; and because it masks the unstated intention of promoting certain political elements.

Although they have not claimed official responsibility for this action — a perfect illustration of the nature of those involved — as is well known to all, the current military leadership are the perpetrators, headed specifically by the Chief of Staff of the armed forces, Lieutenant General Antonio Indjai. The motivation behind it is to undermine the ongoing process of reform and assure his continuing collaboration with organized crime and drug trafficking in Guinea-Bissau. No less serious is the lack of moral and political authority of the main opposition party and its leader, who, aware of their inability to attract the

popular vote, resorted to this tactic to subvert order and attempt to impose their will on the Guinean people.

As I stand here before the Council, we do not know where and under what conditions the interim President of the Republic and its Prime Minister, the leader of the largest political party and recipient of 49 per cent of the votes in the first round of presidential elections, are being held. But the wave of persecution and fear created by the military junta since the night of 12 April is not limited to them. The President of the Supreme Court has taken refuge in a diplomatic mission; the whereabouts of various Government members, heads of other institutions and individuals opposed to this oppression are uncertain, while their homes are looted by uniformed and armed elements and their families are attacked.

For informational purposes, let me give a brief and concise account of the main arguments of the self-proclaimed military command, the political parties supporting them and the opponents of the abruptly interrupted electoral process.

Concerning the elections, there have been allegations of fraud and that the process left out a considerable number of voters who turned 18 years of age after the last census. According to established practice in Guinea-Bissau, the elections were observed by national missions from civil society and several international institutions, notably the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the African Union (AU) and the Community of Portuguese-speaking Countries (CPLP), as well as a group of British parliamentarians. All declared that the process was free, transparent and fair, and that any imperfections in no way compromised the results of the first round.

Concerning the exclusion from voting of some young people, the dissenting parties' commitment to the truth should compel them to recognize that they themselves demanded that the 60-day period allowed for the scheduling of elections, at the end of hearings, be strictly observed. Furthermore, that position of the dissenting parties cannot be dissociated from the statement made by the Chief of Staff at a conciliation meeting convened by the interim President, in which he said that he reserved the right to be the arbiter of the electoral process due to the lack of consensus among the candidates. In other words, the decision of the National Electoral Commission and the ruling of the Supreme Court itself should be ignored in favour of an assessment and decision by the Chief of Staff.

The second accusation of the perpetrators of the coup d'état against the Government concerns the existence of a secret agreement aimed, they said, at destroying the armed forces of Guinea-Bissau. That is a ridiculous claim, since the alleged agreement is a letter addressed to Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon, in which the Government requests and justifies the need for the Security Council to establish a peacekeeping force for Guinea-Bissau. That letter supports an earlier one sent to the Secretary-General a few days before by the President of the ECOWAS Commission, requesting virtually the same thing. Is a claim that the United Nations would provide forces to destroy the armed forces of a State to be taken seriously?

However, the list of insubordinate and undisciplined acts by the military towards the political regime is much longer. I invite the Council to refer to the memorandum supplied on this subject. So as not to waste members' time, I will summarize them here.

On 1 April 2010, in a display of force and a clear act of disrespect for the institutions of the Republic, Lieutenant General Antonio Indjai invaded the premises of the United Nations in Bissau to "liberate" Rear Admiral Bubo Na Tchuto. He subsequently kidnapped the Army Chief of Staff, General Jose Zamora Induta, and imprisoned Prime Minister Carlos Gomes Júnior for several hours, in order to later put pressure on the Government and President Bacai Sanhá to appoint him and Bubo Na Tchuto chiefs of staff of the army and navy, respectively. They were confirmed in office through coercion and threats to the country's civil authorities, the Prime Minister and President of the Republic.

The President of the Republic João Bernardo Vieira, General Tagme Na Wai, General Ansumane Mané, General Verissimo Correia Seabra, Commodore Lamine Sanhá, Deputy Hélder Proença, Governor Baciro Dabó and, more recently, Colonel Samba Djaló, were summarily executed without benefit of a serious investigation.

Police in Bissau were beaten for intervening in a traffic accident caused by the son of Chief of Staff Antonio Indjai. On the eve of the most recent elections, police were publicly beaten and humiliated, in front of representatives of the national and foreign press, for having dispersed, without any use of violence, an

unauthorized demonstration in front of the National Electoral Commission.

Following that incident with the police, General Antonio Indjai, in a clear demonstration of force and with unclear intentions and without consulting the Government, ordered all police to surrender their weapons. They were thus prevented from pursuing their mission of maintaining public order in Guinea-Bissau.

In terms of financial management and the payment of military salaries, the military has never accepted the rules of transparency already in place across the public service. In that connection, there is no knowledge of the exact number and names of recipients and they never deigned to justify the exorbitant sums regularly withdrawn from the public treasury, presumably for food for the military.

With regard to the judicial police investigation of drug trafficking, various military members were arrested and put in judicial police jails on several occasions, but military leaders then forced their transfer to military prisons where they were immediately released. Their cases remain pending.

Aircraft belonging to drug dealers land on various improvised tarmacs, with the authorization of the military leadership and with total disregard for the legitimate civil authorities of Guinea-Bissau. Recently, it was reported that an aircraft landed on the Jugudul/Bambadinca road, counting on the protection of the military, under the orders of the Army Chief of Staff.

This is not even remotely the first time that the Council has convened a meeting to discuss the political situation in Guinea-Bissau. It is important to note that the Council's attention and commitment, combined with the action of the international community, has allowed substantial progress in recent years, despite the difficulties, not only in terms of governance but also in the creation of social and political structures capable of stabilizing the country permanently. That is seen by certain elements, particularly by the current head of the military, as a threat to their excesses and arbitrariness, and is leading them to commit the barbarous acts that are being carried out in Guinea-Bissau.

It is therefore urgent that concrete steps be taken. There is a need to affirm the democratic rule of law in Guinea-Bissau and that, in the current context, inevitably requires immediate and mandatory reform of those involved in the coup. It also requires a re-launching of the defence and security sector reform programme, under the coordination of the United Nations and with the participation of the partners of Guinea-Bissau, in particular the ECOWAS, the African Union and the CPLP. It also requires the restoration of legitimately established constitutional bodies and the completion of the electoral process to elect the President of the Republic.

I take this opportunity to welcome the clear, specific and unambiguous manner in which the international community, with a unified voice, condemned the 12 April coup d'état, with particular emphasis on the pronouncements of ECOWAS, the AU, the CPLP, the United Nations, the European Union, the International Organization of la Francophonie and many countries at the bilateral level.

We testify to the extraordinary performance of the Angolan Technical and Military Assistance Mission in Guinea-Bissau, in the framework of military and technical cooperation with the sisterly Republic of Angola, which has been widely acclaimed throughout Guinean society, at first by the military authorities themselves. In that context, we welcome the openness and willingness of the CPLP, ECOWAS and the AU to coordinate, under the umbrella of the United Nations, the provision of the operating units necessary for the continuation of that mission and the implementation of the memorandum of understanding between the CPLP and ECOWAS for the reform of the defence and security sectors.

In the light of those Dantean events that have occurred over recent years, perpetrated exclusively by the military in Guinea-Bissau, the Government and people of my country have no doubt as to the way forward. I stand before the Council on their behalf and I beg for the deployment of a peacekeeping force to Guinea-Bissau, authorized by the Security Council, with a broad mandate and over an extended period of time, in order to definitively turn the page and allow for the establishment of a legitimate democratic State in the Republic of Guinea-Bissau.

The President: I now give the floor to His Excellency Mr. Georges Rebelo Chikoti, Minister of External Relations of Angola.

Mr. Chikoti (Angola) (*spoke in Portuguese; English text provided by the delegation*): I have the

honour to address the Security Council on behalf of the Community of Portuguese-speaking Countries (CPLP) and its member States, namely, Angola, Brazil, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Portugal, Sao Tome and Principe, and East Timor, while fully endorsing the statements made by the representative of Guinea-Bissau at this important and timely debate on the situation in that country.

Allow me to thank you, Mr. President, for scheduling this emergency meeting, as well as to thank all members of the Security Council for their willingness to deepen the debate on the serious situation that afflicts a member of the Community, namely, the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, a country bound to the CPLP by linguistic ties and with which we share a historical and cultural legacy, supported by a multifaceted cooperation between our countries.

The reasons that brought us to the Security Council to participate in this debate are extremely serious for Guinea-Bissau and for its people, and are also important for the African continent and for the international community as a whole.

The 12 April military coup has interrupted the most positive period in the country's recent history, one of relative political stability, good governance and significant economic growth, which augured a promising future for the country, the pursuit of which was being encouraged and rewarded by the international community, as evidenced by the relief of the country's debt and by the positive assessments made by international organizations.

The military coup d'état, which has already been categorically condemned by the Council, the Secretary-General, the Peacebuilding Commission, the CPLP, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the African Union, the European Union, the International Organization of la Francophonie and by other national and international organizations, is of exceptional seriousness because it took place in the middle of the electoral process, which reflects a total disregard for the democratic will and sovereignty of the people of Guinea-Bissau. The military coup has therefore violated all the principles of democratic life and constitutes the most basic violation of article 25 of the African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance. It cast its authors and accomplices under political condemnation, sanctions and prosecutions.

The history of Guinea-Bissau has been very tragic, marked by several coups d'état in recent years in which a President, a presidential candidate, three chiefs of staff and several other military and civilian authorities died. Given that situation, it was with extreme concern that the CPLP member States, meeting at a summit of heads of State in Luanda on 22 July 2010, after extensive consultations with the partners from ECOWAS, agreed on a road map for the implementation of the defence and security sector reform programme.

The CPLP's solidarity with Guinea-Bissau has been ongoing and active. Portugal and Brazil, through various development programmes, have supported the country in maintaining social services and economic recovery. It was also in the context of that assistance that, in 2010, the Governments of Angola and Guinea-Bissau signed a bilateral cooperation agreement that included a programme of financial assistance for Guinea-Bissau's budget and a military-technical cooperation agreement to support the country's reform of its defence and security sectors.

Angola, like all members of the CPLP and the international community, wants to see Guinea-Bissau consolidate peace, stability and development. That is why we joined the combined efforts of all, because we think that only through concerted actions on an ongoing basis and through ideas can we help the brotherly people and country of Guinea-Bissau to overcome the current crisis, as it has in the past. In that connection, Angola, in its capacity as President of the CPLP, has been holding open consultations with various international partners, such as the United Nations, the African Union, in which it presides over the Peace and Security Council, and ECOWAS, with a view to finding a lasting solution for Guinea-Bissau.

Guinea-Bissau has deep-rooted problems affecting a large part of its political and military class. The increase in drug trafficking in the country can affect not only the neighbouring nations but also the entire region, with consequences for regional stability and security. The ongoing instability that Guinea-Bissau faces, marked by successive military uprisings, which affect not only the institutions but also the entire political class in the country, is the result of long-standing impunity and the absence of functioning institutions, particularly the judicial system, due to the intervention of military authorities in public life. That makes the country hostage to military power. It is also

the result of the increase in drug trafficking, with the risk of turning the country into a platform for international drug trafficking.

Guinea-Bissau therefore needs adequate assistance, with the aid of the Council and the Peacebuilding Commission, the African Union, ECOWAS, the CPLP and other actors, in order to find a lasting solution for the country. We call on the Security Council to consider adopting appropriate measures with a view to restoring constitutional order, ensuring the unconditional release of the arrested leaders, creating a peacekeeping force for stabilizing Guinea-Bissau, concluding the electoral process and providing a system of penalties for breaches of the measures adopted.

For the implementation of those measures and to help the people of Guinea-Bissau, time is of the essence. We cannot afford to wait and make the people of Guinea-Bissau suffer — people who are constantly at the whim of military power. The challenge to the international community is serious enough that if we fail to find appropriate solutions in due time, with the efforts of all, we will be again putting the people at the whim of the military, as they have been in the past.

The CPLP reaffirms the decisions contained in its resolution resulting from the eighth meeting of its Council of Ministers, held in Lisbon on 14 April, as well as all of the resolutions that have recently been issued by various bodies, namely the African Union's Peace and Security Council, ECOWAS and the Security Council, which on 13 April called for the restoration of constitutional order in Guinea-Bissau.

We encourage the Security Council to do all that it can to support all of the measures that can be taken collectively to help the Republic of Guinea-Bissau to emerge from this crisis created by the military class, which has brought about extremely difficult problems.

I appreciate the attention that has been given me and the opportunity that I have been given to transmit those thoughts to the Council on behalf of the CPLP.

The President: I now give the floor to the representative of Côte d'Ivoire.

Mr. Bamba (Côte d'Ivoire) (*spoke in French*): As this is the first time that I take the floor under your presidency, Sir, I would like to convey to you the sincere congratulations of my delegation on your election to the presidency of the Council for April.

(*spoke in English*)

It is my honour, on behalf of His Excellency Mr. Alassane Ouattara, Chairman of the Authority of Heads of State and Government of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), to express to the Security Council the gratitude of the 15 heads of State of the Community for taking up for deliberation today the serious and disturbing matter of Guinea-Bissau, only days after the situation in Mali was discussed in the Chamber.

The Chairman of the Authority of Heads of State and Government of the Economic Community of West African States also expressed his gratitude to the Secretary-General for his abiding interest in, and concern over, the fate of West Africa and for the support that he has unfailingly given to the region's efforts to stabilize the peace and security environment there.

I would like to thank you, Mr. President, for the able manner in which you are presiding over today's meeting. I would also like to acknowledge the speakers before me, in particular Mr. Joseph Mutaboba, Head of the United Nations Integrated Peacebuilding Office in Guinea-Bissau, for his comprehensive presentation on the situation in Guinea-Bissau.

Over the past two decades, the efforts of West African leaders and ECOWAS led to the progressive entrenchment of democratic culture and the consolidation of stability and, as a consequence, steady economic growth and a bright outlook in the subregion. However, ECOWAS has been under no illusion as to the fragility and reversible nature of the situation. Unfortunately, the unfolding developments in Mali and Guinea-Bissau are confirming our worst fears.

It should be recalled that the electorate in Guinea-Bissau went to the polls on 18 March to choose a successor to President Malam Bacai Sanhá, who passed away on 9 January. The period following the inconclusive first round of the election was marked by mounting tensions that were notably characterized by the following factors: the decision of five of the candidates led by Mr. Kumba Yala, leader of the Party for Social Renewal and the second-placed candidate, to boycott the run-off; malfunctioning State institutions amid rancour within the political class; fear among members of a section of the political class for their safety and fear of a possible military intervention; and rising suspicion and animosity between the Guinean

military and the Angolan Technical a Military Assistance Mission in Guinea-Bissau (MISSANG).

It was against that background that President Ouattara of the Republic of Côte d'Ivoire, as Chairman of the ECOWAS Authority, dispatched an ECOWAS mission to Guinea-Bissau on 31 March. Led by the President of the ECOWAS Commission, together with representatives of the African Union and the United Nations, the mission was undertaken with a view to calming the situation, persuading the five candidates not to boycott the run-off election, and assessing the role of MISSANG in the evolving situation and making appropriate recommendations to the Authority.

The mission presented its report to an extraordinary session of the Authority on 2 April. The Authority, having become convinced of the seriousness of the matter, appointed His Excellency Mr. Alpha Condé, President of Guinea, as mediator of the crisis, and warned the military once more to resist any temptation to disrupt the electoral process. Furthermore, the Chairman convened an extraordinary session of the ECOWAS Mediation and Security Council on 12 April to discuss the situation, along with the disturbing constitutional crisis and security situation in the north of Mali.

Among the pertinent decisions taken at that session, the ECOWAS Mediation and Security Council called on the opposition candidates not to boycott the run-off election, cautioned the military against interference in the electoral process and took the decision to request the withdrawal of MISSANG from Bissau within two months, to be replaced by an ECOWAS force. Unfortunately, neither the opposition nor the Guinea-Bissau military heeded the advice from ECOWAS. On 12 April 2012, just as the Mediation and the Security Council meeting was coming to a close, the Guinea-Bissau military began operations that soon developed into a coup d'état.

The military detained key political figures, including the Prime Minister and front-runner in the election, Mr. Carlos Gomes Júnior, and the interim President, Mr. Raimundo Pereira. It took over State institutions and designated the military command as the ruling body. The Chairman of the Mediation and Security Council immediately condemned the coup, while the President of the ECOWAS Commission issued a statement on the same day, reiterating the Council's denunciation of the putsch and demanding an immediate relinquishing of power to the legitimate authorities.

Only last Monday, 16 April, the Chairman of the Authority dispatched a second ECOWAS mission to Guinea-Bissau, where the delegation held intensive discussions with the junta; the ruling African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde; the five opposition candidates; ECOWAS ambassadors and the representatives of the African Union and the United Nations in Bissau. From the deliberations with the different stakeholders, the following issues and concerns were raised.

First, since independence, the political class and the democratic institutions in Guinea-Bissau have evolved under persistent political instability, to the extent that no elected President has ever served a full term in the country.

Second, governance institutions in Guinea-Bissau have often been dysfunctional, leading to constant paralysis in Government. That was particularly the case in the run-up to the last election. Also, corruption and drug trafficking have permeated the fabric of politics and the military.

Third, reversing that trend requires a very sophisticated approach that combines the fast-tracking of the ECOWAS-developed defence and security sector reform programme, constitutional and electoral reform, deep economic reforms to root out corruption, and a conscious and determined effort to root out drug trafficking and impunity.

Fourth, based on the statement of the junta and statements from some key interlocutors, Angola's military build-up in Guinea-Bissau through MISSANG served as the immediate trigger for the coup. In the period immediately after the 18 March election, tensions rose exponentially between the two forces, with the Guinea-Bissau Chief of Defence Staff accusing MISSANG of secretly boosting its force size and stockpiling combat weapons, which, according to him, contravened the bilateral agreement under which Angola deployed MISSANG. He went on to order MISSANG to withdraw within 48 hours.

Fifth, at the meeting with the military command, the spokesperson of the junta produced a letter ostensibly signed by the Prime Minister under the instructions of Angola and addressed to the Secretary-General, requesting authorization for the deployment

of a peace enforcement mission to Guinea-Bissau by the Community of Portuguese-speaking Countries (CPLP) and its allies. According to the spokesperson, the Bissau military had acted to pre-empt that eventuality and the establishment of a counterforce in the country. The junta was threatening a showdown with MISSANG if the latter did not pull out within 48 hours.

Sixth, the psychosis generated by the threat of an Angola-led intervention and the possible confrontation between MISSANG and the Guinea-Bissau army had led to acute fear and an exodus of the population from the capital towards Senegal and other neighbouring countries.

Seventh, Bissau and other cities no longer have access to basic necessities and banking services, as businesses have begun shutting down.

The ECOWAS mission managed to secure an undertaking by the military command to restore constitutional order with immediate effect. The junta requested ECOWAS to assist in the development of the modalities for the transition, which is currently being handled by the mediator. Furthermore, ECOWAS demanded the immediate release of the Prime Minister, the interim President and other political detainees.

The situation in Guinea-Bissau is serious and complex. It threatens to undo the progress made in the subregion over the past few years. It also threatens international peace and security. Now is the time to take urgent and appropriate measures to defuse this time bomb. Having carefully reviewed the situation, ECOWAS intends to immediately deploy a military contingent, under the United Nations principle of subsidiarity.

The ECOWAS mission will ensure the protection of institutions and eminent persons, as well as the envisaged transition and electoral process. In the medium term, the mission will ensure the protection of witnesses during the investigation of acts of impunity and the commencement of the implementation of the defence and security sector reform programme.

The Chairman of the ECOWAS Authority will convene an extraordinary summit a week from now, on Thursday, 26 April, in Abidjan to further consider the situation in Guinea-Bissau, with particular emphasis on the restoration of constitutional order and the deployment of ECOWAS troops. The Chairman of the Authority also plans to dispatch a high-level ECOWAS delegation to Bissau on Monday, 23 April to engage all stakeholders in the transition process.

In accomplishing those tasks, ECOWAS shall work in close cooperation with the African Union, the United Nations, the CPLP and other partners, whose support will greatly enhance efforts aimed at re-establishing the rule of law and maintaining peace and security in Guinea-Bissau.

ECOWAS requests the Council to support those initiatives, which seek to contribute to international peace and security in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter of the United Nations.

The President: I now give the floor to Mrs. Viotti.

Mrs. Viotti: I thank you, Mr. President, for the invitation to brief the Security Council in my capacity as Chair of the Guinea-Bissau configuration of the Peacebuilding Commission. I would like to extend a warm welcome to the Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation of Guinea-Bissau, His Excellency Mr. Mamadú Saliu Djaló Pires; the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Portugal, His Excellency Mr. Paulo Portas; and the Minister of External Relations of Angola and Chair of the Community of Portuguese-speaking Countries (CPLP), His Excellency Mr. Georges Rebelo Chikoti. I also welcome Ambassador Youssoufou Bamba, Permanent Representative of Côte d'Ivoire and Chair of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). And I thank the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Joseph Mutaboba, for his briefing.

It is most unfortunate that, 20 days after I briefed the Council (see S/PV.6743) on the progress that Guinea-Bissau had been making in the implementation of its peacebuilding priorities, I have to return here to brief the Council on the forcible seizure of power from the legitimate Government of Guinea-Bissau that took place on 12 April. I will not dwell on the details of the recent developments of the electoral process and the coup d'état, since they were ably presented by previous speakers.

The Guinea-Bissau configuration of the Peacebuilding Commission has condemned in the strongest terms the forcible seizure of power in Guinea-Bissau and the arbitrary detentions of the

interim President, the Prime Minister and other senior officials. The configuration, moreover, called upon all parties to oppose any attempt to change the Government through unconstitutional means. We have encouraged the Government of Guinea-Bissau and all stakeholders to continue to work together to pursue political dialogue so as to preserve stability in the country and promote national reconciliation.

The solution to the current crisis requires the immediate release of all of the authorities presently detained by the military, the return of the armed forces to their barracks and the resumption of the electoral process.

We welcome the engagement of regional and subregional organizations and key international partners, notably the CPLP, ECOWAS and the African Union. We must continue to support their efforts towards the restoration of constitutional order without delay and a lasting and peaceful solution to the current political crisis in Guinea-Bissau.

This is not the first time that constitutional order has broken down in Guinea-Bissau. The recent history of the country has been, unfortunately, marked by upheavals and crises. However, the 12 April coup d'état is particularly regrettable because it happened at a moment in which progress towards a more stable and prosperous society was under way in Guinea-Bissau.

The people and the Government of Guinea-Bissau were implementing reforms to steer the country in the right direction. Political stability, improvement in governance and management reforms had led to economic recovery and the revival of trust in the country on the part of national stakeholders and foreign partners.

Stability had brought about important gains to Guinea-Bissau, allowing it to move from a situation of financial disarray into a more stable position, thanks to greater control of public spending, increased tax revenues and a considerable reduction of public debt. Due to such progress, the Government of Guinea-Bissau had managed to establish regularity in the payment of salaries, an element that had caused constant dissatisfaction and instability in the past.

With respect to security sector reform, Guinea-Bissau had adopted the necessary legal instruments and had made efforts to put in place a special pension fund in order to demobilize and reintegrate part of the current military and police personnel into civilian life in order to pave the way for a more professional armed forces.

Progress had also been made in the fight against drug trafficking. The Government of Guinea-Bissau had adopted an operational plan to combat drug trafficking and established a transnational crime unit within the West Africa Coast Initiative. The immediate return to constitutional order is crucial to allow those processes to move forward. Grave consequences will ensue if the current situation is not reversed. The military coup will certainly curb confidence and donor support, thus compromising the efforts to address security sector reform and drug trafficking.

The international community must urgently act to avoid a continuation of the current scenario. It is very important that the country's hard-won socio-economic gains brought about by stability in the recent past be protected and built upon in an environment of respect for the rule of law and democracy. The Council and the international community as a whole must act with resolve to assist Guinea-Bissau in breaking away, once and for all, from the cycle of violence, coups d'état, impunity and instability that has plagued the country for so long.

The President: I shall now give the floor to those members of the Council who wish to make statements.

Mr. Portas (Portugal): Thank you very much, Mr. President, for expeditiously convening this important meeting.

(*spoke in Portuguese; interpretation provided by the delegation*)

We deeply appreciate the presence of Minister Pires in the Council as the representative of the legitimate and democratically elected Government of Guinea-Bissau. I also welcome the relevant statements by Minister Chikoti, in his capacity as Chair of the Community of Portuguese-speaking Countries (CPLP); by Ambassador Viotti of Brazil, in her capacity as Chair of the Guinea-Bissau configuration of the Peacebuilding Commission; by the Permanent Representative of Côte d'Ivoire, on behalf of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), and by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Guinea-Bissau, who is playing an important role in that country.

(*spoke in English*)

Let us be clear. One month ago, Guinea-Bissau was on the path to complete a full democratic legislature for the first time in decades. In the first round of the presidential elections, which were internationally recognized as regular, transparent and free, Prime Minister Carlos Gomes Júnior received 49 per cent of the vote; the second round had been scheduled. Today he is illegally detained, as is the interim President. The electoral process was violently cancelled; the Government was forcefully seized. Ministers are in hiding and their families are under threat. The house of our colleague Mr. Djaló was pillaged. Journalists have been detained and beaten. Looting by some military personnel is ongoing.

Had it nor been for the clear and united message of the international community, the interim President, the Prime Minister and other senior officials would probably be dead by now and there would be no hope of restoring basic freedoms.

The international community has spoken with one voice. The Secretary-General, the Council, the African Union, ECOWAS, the CPLP, the International Organization of la Francophonie, the European Union and many others have unreservedly condemned the illegal seizure of power in Guinea-Bissau by some elements of its armed forces. A few hours after the military coup, the Council clearly set out three conditions that are non-negotiable, namely, the immediate release of the interim President, the Prime Minister and all senior officials detained illegally; the full and immediate restoration of constitutional rule and of the legitimate Government; and the completion of the electoral process.

It cannot be business as usual in Guinea-Bissau. The time has come to draw the line. The time has come to say no — no to the prominence of arms over votes. The zero-tolerance principle regarding access to power through unconstitutional means declared by the African Union and ECOWAS and supported by the CPLP must be fully upheld. Otherwise, what message would we be conveying to the people of Guinea-Bissau and to the region?

This crisis has wider and very relevant implications related to the serious increase in the instability of the situation in Western Africa. The threats, which are connected, include increased proliferation and trafficking in arms and drugs; the growing threat of the Maghrebi version of Al-Qaida; and indications of serious internal problems in other countries in the region. Clearly, regional peace and stability are at stake. This is not only an internal issue for Guinea-Bissau, this is a regional challenge to stability. If we do not take action, this will become a problem for international security.

What is at stake in Guinea-Bissau is a choice between a State based on constitutional rule or a failed State based on the power of drug trafficking. The people of Guinea-Bissau, who voted just four weeks ago, are not responsible for this vicious cycle of instability, trafficking and violence. I recall that since 1998 we have had one war, four military coups and the murder of one President and four joint chiefs of staff of the armed forces, in addition to the assassination of several other senior officials. That is enough. We cannot tolerate murder and military coups as political means for solving problems.

The responsibility for those acts belongs to certain elements of the armed forces and a few politicians who keep fuelling instability to achieve, by illegal means, the political power they could not win at the polls, as well as the economic profits that arise from illegal trafficking, in particular of drugs.

The people of Guinea-Bissau, as any other around the world, aspire to overcome injustice and poverty, to live in peace, dignity and prosperity and to be ruled by a legitimate and democratic Government.

It is up to the international community to seize this crucial moment in the history of Guinea-Bissau as an opportunity to put an end to the spiral of violence and disruption of constitutional order and to move effectively forward with the reform of the security sector. We cannot miss this opportunity. Conceding or compromising in this context, allowing for anything less than the full restoration of the constitutional order and of the legitimate authorities — obviously including the interim President and the Prime Minister — as well as the completion of the electoral process would send a terrible signal and set a dangerous precedent. There are no transitional authorities, there are democratic and legitimate authorities.

Among the tools that the United Nations Charter and practice offer us, we should consider two, namely, restrictive measures and the establishment of a United Nations-mandated stabilization mission.

An illegal seizure of power must not go unpunished. Therefore, those responsible for the coup and those who politically support it should be targeted with restrictive measures, namely, visa bans and the freezing of assets. That notwithstanding, we will distinguish between those who persist in wrongdoing and those who repent.

The European Union, beyond suspending its cooperation with Guinea-Bissau, will be ready to move forward with sanctions on individuals who continue to obstruct peace, security and the normal functioning of constitutional institutions. We call on the Council to consider similar targeted measures.

We also believe that the Council should assume its responsibility and seriously consider the call of the legitimate Government of Guinea-Bissau for a United Nations-mandated multilateral stabilization mission, including contingents from members of ECOWAS, the CPLP and the African Union — a comprehensive and combined effort to tackle the root problems in Guinea-Bissau.

Allow me to conclude my remarks in Portuguese, as I would like my words to be clearly understood in Bissau.

(*spoke in Portuguese; interpretation provided by the delegation*)

The international community is united on the situation in Guinea-Bissau and speaks with one voice in vehemently condemningly the coup perpetrated by some military personnel.

The solution for this crisis is based, unconditionally, on the release of all the officials illegally detained, the re-establishment of constitutional order and the conclusion of the electoral process, which was internationally recognized as free and transparent. Those who persist in unconstitutional actions and those who actively support them will be subject to restrictive measures and should be held accountable. They should think twice about their actions.

The international community, and Portugal in particular, stands side by side with the people of Guinea-Bissau and their legitimate Government in pursuit of a resolution to this crisis to allow Guinea-Bissau to finally follow the path to peace, justice and development. As we say in Bissau, we are together.

(*spoke in English*)

As we say in the United Nations, let us act together.

Mr. Menan (Togo) (*spoke in French*): I wish to thank you, Mr. President, for having convened this meeting, which, given to the wide range of eminent persons participating in it, provides us with an important opportunity to consider the serious situation prevailing in Guinea-Bissau as a result of the coup d'état of 12 April. I would therefore like to welcome the presence in New York of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Portugal and to thank them, as well as the Permanent Representatives of Brazil and Côte d'Ivoire, for their statements. I should like also to thank the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Guinea-Bissau for his briefing.

As my delegation stated before the Council on 13 April, Togo rejects the resort to force as a means of resolving political problems, in particular as a means of taking power. Indeed, the coup d'état in Guinea-Bissau, which its perpetrators consider to be a solution, itself has the potential to undermine the order that the coup claims to establish. It is a not only a violation of the constitutional order and of free democratic expression but also a source of ongoing instability.

Our disapproval of the 12 April coup d'état, which is in line with the position of the African Union and of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), as well as of other international organizations, has its basis in the problems that it is causing the people of Guinea-Bissau and in our justified and sincere concern for the country, whose prospects have nonetheless been promising given the progress accomplished in recent years in the framework of peacebuilding and stability. That progress was made possible by the commitment of the political class to respect basic consensual rules so as to move forward, as well as by the support of the international community, through the United Nations, ECOWAS, the West African Economic and Monetary Union and the Community of Portuguese-speaking Countries, as well as various bilateral partners, whose mobilization to assist the country is clear evidence of their interest in the well-being of the people of Guinea-Bissau.

There can be no denying the tremendous amount of work done by the United Nations Integrated Peacebuilding Office in Guinea-Bissau (UNIOGBIS) in

the area of peacebuilding in that country, in its role as coordinator of partnership assistance. It also provided support to the electoral commission so as to ensure the smooth functioning of the electoral process, which, unfortunately, has just been abruptly halted.

By adopting resolution 2030 (2011), on 21 December 2011, which extended the mandate of UNIOGBIS, the Security Council sent a strong signal to Guinea-Bissau's citizens by supporting their efforts and by focusing on the challenges to be dealt with. The Council has frequently expressed its concern about the various threats facing the normal development of the country. It has regularly asked all political leaders to show moderation and the army to avoid interfering in political life. It thus rightly condemned this umpteenth coup d'état in the country.

But over and above the general, legitimate disapproval of the international community, the events of 12 April bring to the fore, for all of Guinea-Bissau's partners, the issue of the ongoing interference of the army in the political life of the country. That is a serious handicap for its economic development. People who live in constant fear of instability cannot give expression to their creative impulses for development.

The situation in Guinea-Bissau is of concern to us because it poses a real threat to the country's future that could undermine the progress made in recent years in areas where it is crucial to pursue reform in order to prevent a step backwards into chaos. Those reforms pertain in particular to that of the army and security sector, the combat against drugs and transboundary crime, in particular through the West Africa Coast Initiative (WACI), and the establishment by ECOWAS and the CPLP, with the support of the United Nations, of a pension fund for the military.

My country, which is actively participating in the quest for a solution in the regional framework, welcomes the ECOWAS initiative to send a stabilization force to Guinea-Bissau. It welcomes the junta's openness to a swift return to constitutional order. Nonetheless, it is a fact that the coup d'état, which came right after the one in Mali, is yet another event that further undermines the precarious situation in West Africa. Even worse, the putsch only adds to the list of ills that the region is, unfortunately, already facing, namely, trafficking and the movement of weapons and drugs, organized crime, the activities of radical Islamic groups, piracy in the Gulf of Guinea, the humanitarian crisis, flows of thousands of refugees as well as secessionist inclinations.

Given that very bleak picture, the responsibility of the Security Council is significant, because there is a need to find the best approach to ensure that each coup d'état in Guinea-Bissau is not the next to last. We believe that the Security Council must maintain a firm stance regarding the militarist excesses that institutions, in particular in Africa, are constantly facing. We must do all we can to ensure that the progress towards democracy and the significant investments made by the international community in countries such as Guinea-Bissau bear fruit, and contribute to preventing unnecessary suffering from being inflicted on peaceful people as a result of coups d'état. Only thus will the Council shoulder its peacebuilding and conflict-prevention responsibilities and help to promote democracy, human rights and development.

Mr. Sangqu (South Africa): I wish to thank you, Mr. President, for having convened this timely meeting. Let me join others in thanking the Foreign Ministers of Guinea-Bissau, Angola and Portugal, as well as Special Representative of the Secretary-General Mutaboba, for their statements and briefings on Guinea-Bissau today. We also thank the Permanent Representative of Côte d'Ivoire for his statement on behalf of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), and we appreciate the useful statement made by the Permanent Representative of Brazil in her capacity as Chair of the Peacebuilding Commission country configuration on Guinea-Bissau.

I will be brief in adding our voice in stating our position on this African issue before us today.

The military coup in Guinea-Bissau that took place on 12 April has created a serious setback in terms of the progress made by the legitimate Government in establishing democracy and ensuring stability over the past few years. That unlawful act poses a threat to peace and security. It completely undermines international law and the principles enshrined in the Constitutive Act of the African Union and the African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance, which rejects any use of force or unconstitutional acts to assume power. It is critical that all efforts to address the situation in Guinea-Bissau be conducted in a manner that is coordinated, integrated and harmonized. Such efforts must ensure that the interests of the

country and its people remain paramount. Only a return to constitutional order and the release of democratically elected leaders will guarantee the respect of the will of the people of Guinea-Bissau, as expressed in the 2008 elections. The international community must convey a strong message that it will not tolerate disruptive military coups with impunity. In that regard, the collective efforts of the international community must further encourage, not weaken, the notable gains made by the Government of Guinea-Bissau in recent years in consolidating democracy and good governance.

The African Union (AU) and the Economic Community of West African States, joined by the Community of Portuguese-speaking Countries (CPLP) and the International Organization of la Francophonie, have all suspended Guinea-Bissau's membership in their organizations pending the restoration of constitutional order in the country. By its swift decision, the AU has demonstrated clear resolve on the part of African leaders to condemn and reject any acts of forced or unconstitutional change of Government on the continent. Its decision is a strong expression of its commitment to respecting and preserving democratic principles, human rights, the rule of law and good governance in Africa. Furthermore, it rejects impunity, assassinations and other subversive acts.

South Africa therefore firmly rejects any further attempt to undermine the constitutional framework and the rule of law in Guinea-Bissau, and underscores the AU's call on its international partners to force the perpetrators of the coup d'état and their supporters to accept the restoration of constitutional order. In that regard, we call for the unconditional and immediate release of the interim President of the country and all other detained leaders. That should be followed by the conclusion of the process for electing a new President of the Government of Guinea-Bissau, in accordance with the ruling of the country's Supreme Court.

We support the coordinated efforts of the African Union, the Economic Community of West African States, the CPLP and bilateral partners aimed at restoring constitutional rule and returning peace and stability to Guinea-Bissau. The focus should turn firmly towards the key challenges facing the country, including the development of good governance, the deepening of democracy and the implementation of security and defence sector reform, as well as combating drug trafficking and related activities. We encourage the United Nations not only to support such efforts but to ensure that they are conducted in a coordinated and coherent manner. The perpetrators of the coup d'état, as well as their supporters, are ultimately responsible for the well-being and security of the political stakeholders and leaders who have been detained, the missing and captive ministers and the Guinean people, and must be held accountable for their deeds.

The President: There are no more names inscribed on the list of speakers.

I now invite members to informal consultations to continue our discussion on the subject.

The meeting rose at 4.45 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.6755

Security Council

Sixty-seventh year

Provisional

6755th meeting

Saturday, 21 April 2012, 11 a.m.
New York

President:	Ms. Rice	(United States of America)
Members:	Azerbaijan	Mr. Mehdiyev
	China	Mr. Li Baodong
	Colombia	Mr. Osorio
	France	Mr. Araud
	Germany	Mr. Wittig
	Guatemala	Mr. Rosenthal
	India	Mr. Hardeep Singh Puri
	Morocco	Mr. Loulichki
	Pakistan	Mr. Tarar
	Portugal	Mr. Moraes Cabral
	Russian Federation	Mr. Churkin
	South Africa	Mr. Sangqu
	Togo	Mr. Menan
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir Mark Lyall Grant

Agenda

The situation in Guinea-Bissau

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12-30441 (E)

Please recycle

The meeting was called to order at 11.10 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Guinea-Bissau

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

After consultations among members of the Security Council, I have been authorized to make the following statement on their behalf:

"The Security Council recalls its press statement SC/10607, of 13 April 2012, and reiterates its strong condemnation of the military coup by the military leadership and political elements in Guinea-Bissau, thereby undermining the conclusion of the legitimate presidential electoral process.

"The Security Council rejects the unconstitutional establishment of a Transitional National Council by the military leadership and its supporters.

"The Security Council demands the immediate restoration of the constitutional order as well as the reinstatement of the legitimate Government of Guinea-Bissau. The Security Council further demands the immediate and unconditional release of the interim President Raimundo Pereira, Prime Minister Carlos Gomes Júnior and all officials currently detained in order to enable the completion of the presidential and legislative elections. In this regard, the Council welcomes the decision of the African Union Peace and Security Council to suspend, with immediate effect, Guinea-Bissau from the African Union until the effective restoration of constitutional order.

"The Security Council underlines the need to ensure the safety and security of those detained and that those responsible for violent and illegal acts must be held accountable.

"The Security Council is deeply concerned by reports of violent repression of peaceful demonstrations, looting, restriction of freedom of movement, the arbitrary detention of civilians and demands their release. The Council calls on the military leadership to release information on the number of arrests and the names and whereabouts of those arrested and further calls upon the military to protect human rights, including the rights to freedom of movement, peaceful assembly and expression.

"The Security Council welcomes and supports the active engagement and measures undertaken by the African Union, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the Community of Portuguese-speaking Countries (CPLP), and encourages the coordination of these efforts for the immediate restoration of the constitutional order in Guinea-Bissau.

"The Security Council urges Guinea-Bissau's partners to further strengthen these efforts and requests the Secretary-General to support these endeavours, namely through his Special Representatives.

"The Council stands ready to consider possible further measures, including targeted sanctions against the perpetrators and supporters of the military coup, should the situation remain unresolved.

"The Security Council takes note of the African Union's decision to initiate consultations with ECOWAS, the CPLP, the United Nations and other partners on possible additional means necessary for the stabilization of the country, in consultation with the legitimate Government of Guinea-Bissau.

"The Security Council requests the Secretary-General to keep it informed on developments in Guinea-Bissau and to submit a report by 30 April 2012, concerning the re-establishment of the constitutional order in Guinea-Bissau.

"The Security Council stresses that the recurrence of illegal interference of the military in politics contributes to the persistence of instability and a culture of impunity, and hampers efforts towards consolidation of the rule of law, implementation of security sector reform, promotion of development and entrenchment of a democratic culture. In this regard, the Council welcomes the efforts of the Peacebuilding

Commission country-specific configuration and of the Angolan bilateral mission (MISSANG) in pursuit of peace and stability in the country.

"The members of the Security Council emphasize the need to uphold and respect the sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Guinea-Bissau.

"The Security Council will remain actively seized of the matter."

This statement will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/PRST/2012/15.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 11.15 a.m.

United Nations S/PV.6756

Security Council

Sixty-seventh year

Provisional

6756th meeting

Saturday, 21 April 2012, 11.15 a.m.
New York

President:	Ms. Rice	(United States of America)
Members:	Azerbaijan	Mr. Mehdiyev
	China	Mr. Li Baodong
	Colombia	Mr. Osorio
	France	Mr. Araud
	Germany	Mr. Wittig
	Guatemala	Mr. Rosenthal
	India	Mr. Hardeep Singh Puri
	Morocco	Mr. Loulichki
	Pakistan	Mr. Tarar
	Portugal	Mr. Moraes Cabral
	Russian Federation	Mr. Churkin
	South Africa	Mr. Sangqu
	Togo	Mr. Menan
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir Mark Lyall Grant

Agenda

The situation in the Middle East

Letter dated 19 April 2012 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/2012/238)

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12-30478 (E)

Please recycle

The meeting was called to order at 11.15 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in the Middle East

Letter dated 19 April 2012 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/2012/238)

The President: Under rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite the representative of the Syrian Arab Republic to participate in this meeting.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

Members of the Council have before them document S/2012/245, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted by China, Colombia, France, Germany, Morocco, Pakistan, Portugal and the Russian Federation.

I wish to draw the attention of Council members to document S/2012/238, which contains a letter dated 19 April from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Azerbaijan, China, Colombia, France, Germany, Guatemala, India, Morocco, Pakistan, Portugal, Russian Federation, South Africa, Togo, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President: The draft resolution received 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 2043 (2012).

I shall now give the floor to those members of the Council who wish to make statements after the voting.

Mr. Churkin (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): Russia presented the initiative to swiftly adopt a Security Council resolution on establishing the United Nations Supervision Mission in Syria, in order to pave the way for a United Nations presence with a stabilizing influence in that country. Resolution 2043 (2012) is of fundamental importance in pushing forward the process for a peaceful settlement in Syria and enshrines the Council's consensus on supporting the six-point proposal of Joint Special Envoy Annan. We now believe the main aim to be the unwavering and clear respect by all parties for the provisions of the resolution. Any deviation, whether from the resolution's provisions or in their interpretation, will be unacceptable. The Libyan model should remain forever in the past.

The resolution establishes clear parameters of responsibility for all Syrian parties on the cessation of violence and on the need to cooperate with United Nations observers and the mission of the Joint Special Envoy. However, that is not all.

In order to achieve comprehensive implementation of the resolution, it is very important for the external players involved in the Syrian issue to also act very responsibly. They too should take action while bearing in mind the provisions adopted by the Security Council so that all Syrians may participate in an inclusive political process with respect to the establishment of a democratic, pluralistic system in Syria, for all Syrians, irrespective of ethnic or religious background. Only through that process will Syrians be able to take their own decisions on their country's future political situation. Any external influence imposed by us on that process could risk exacerbating the crisis.

We call upon all Syrian parties — both the authorities and the opposition — to refrain from violence and to fully uphold the provisions of the Annan plan and the requirements of the resolution. Once again, we issue a call to all States with influence on the opposition to encourage them to do the same. In that context, we will continue to work with Damascus.

The resolution sends an important international legal signal, namely, that only the Security Council has the prerogative to take a decision regarding the settlement of a regional crisis, including the Syrian crisis. Any other forum, such as a group of friends or a coalition of mutual interests, should clearly uphold the resolutions of the Security Council and not undermine its activity. The Russian Federation will closely follow those developments.

Mr. Araud (France) (*spoke in French*): We welcome the unanimous adoption of resolution 2043

(2012), which establishes the United Nations Supervision Mission in Syria, with a mandate of monitoring the cessation of violence and the full implementation of the Joint Special Envoy's six-point proposal. After so many months of obstruction, Syria must understand the unanimous message being sent by the international community as well as the meaning of its commitments to put an end to an intolerable situation.

One week ago, we adopted a resolution providing for the deployment of an advance observation mission (resolution 2042 (2012)). After 13 months of senseless, bloody repression, which has produced more than 11,000 dead and has destabilized the entire region, a strengthened mission is absolutely essential. It should be deployed as soon as possible.

The adoption of today's resolution, however, should not lead us to forget that the situation on the ground remains worrying owing to the refusal of Damascus to genuinely meet its commitments. As the Secretary-General emphasized in his letter to the Council last Thursday (S/2012/238), the Syrian authorities have not implemented the measures to be immediately put in place, as they committed to the Joint Special Envoy to do. They Syrian army has only given the impression of having retreated. Bombardment and firing with heavy weapons continues.

The deployment of the first observers in Syria has in no way changed the regime's lethal behaviour. Homs and Idlib continue to pay the heavy price of unbridled repression. In Dar'a and Duma, snipers are continuing their heinous deeds. Throughout the entire country, as it has done for 13 months, the regime is continuing its bloody repression of demonstrations, to carry out torture, arbitrary arrests, forced disappearances and sexual violence. The humanitarian urgency is greater than ever. By its daily nefarious actions the Syrian regime is violating the decisions of the Security Council and demonstrating its contempt for it, as well as for the Joint Special Envoy and, more generally, the entire international community.

Against that backdrop, we know that we are taking a risk in voting for today's resolution. We believe that Mr. Annan's plan is a last opportunity for peace that we should not miss. That is the reason that France supported the adoption of resolution 2043 (2012). We did so with determination and without illusions.

As the Secretary-General has said, in order to fully carry out its mandate, this Mission should be provided with significant personnel, who should be deployed as soon as possible to cover all the regions affected by the developments. The observers must have full freedom of movement. Any obstruction by the Syrian authorities is to be reported to the Security Council. In implementation of resolution 2043 (2012), the Syrian authorities must ensure the security of observers while guaranteeing that there is no hindrance to their deployment throughout the country, in their contacts with the population or in their communications; nor are there to be any reprisals of any sort against the population. In that regard, I should like to underscore that the use of air transport is absolutely crucial to the success of the Mission. It is only under those conditions that the observers will be able to effectively carry out their duties. France will remain vigilant vis-à-vis its demand for Syria's full cooperation with the observation Mission.

I would like to recall that our goal in deploying the Mission is not just an end to repression; above all, it is the launching of a political transition in Syria towards a democratic system, so that the Syrian people can at last freely choose their destiny. Both of those must move ahead in tandem. We can wait no longer. More civilians are dying with each passing day.

The observers must be deployed now and must be able to work without obstruction. Violence must stop. The Annan plan must be comprehensively implemented, in particular when it comes to the freedom to demonstrate, which must be fully observed. We will judge the Government of Syria on its actions. The observers should be able to tell us whether Syria's obligations are properly being met. Were that not to be the case, we will have to consider other options, including possible sanctions available to the Security Council and the international community.

Mr. Wittig (Germany): Today's unanimous authorization of the United Nations Supervision Mission in Syria (UNSMIS) is an important, far-reaching step. We supported resolution 2043 (2012) because we stand entirely behind the efforts of Joint Special Envoy Kofi Annan to achieve a sustainable cessation of violence and to facilitate a political transition process in Syria. We supported the resolution

because we share the assessment made by Mr. Annan and the Secretary-General that the deployment of observers under the right conditions could positively influence dynamics on the ground.

At the same time, we must all be aware that the decision taken today is not without risks. Clearly, the cessation of armed violence is incomplete. The authorities in Damascus continue their attacks on the population, they continue to shell the city of Homs with artillery and they have not withdrawn their troops and tanks to their barracks.

Other forms of violence continue unabated, such as arbitrary detention, torture, abduction, sexual violence and violence against children, women and minorities.

The Syrian Government continues to play for time, despite its own commitment made to the Joint Special Envoy and the repeated demands made by the Security Council for the immediate and full implementation of the six-point plan.

Our work is not done with the adoption of today's resolution. To the contrary, our work has only begun. We must now ensure that the observers have the necessary security and can operate freely and in the right conditions to effectively implement their mandate. The new United Nations Mission must not, under any circumstances, become a pawn in tactical and political games.

We have made every effort to ensure that resolution 2043 (212) adequately reflects those concerns. It is now for the Syrian authorities to prove that they live up to their responsibilities. If they do not do so the Security Council has made it clear that it will consider further steps.

We must remain vigilant. Too many commitments made by Damascus in the past have not been kept. We have therefore asked the Secretary-General to carefully assess the conditions on the ground before deploying personnel. We have also asked him to report immediately and in short intervals on any obstruction of the Mission. It will be our task to act appropriately.

The observers may contribute to solidifying a cessation of armed violence, but they cannot substitute for a political solution. The deployment of observers is only one, albeit crucial, element of the six-point plan by the Joint Special Envoy. We therefore welcome the fact that UNSMIS will comprise civilian personnel with relevant expertise, such as on human rights and gender, to monitor and support the implementation of the other aspects of the six-point plan.

Here, too, urgent action is required by Damascus. As stated by the Secretary-General, actions on the ground must be consistent with stated commitments to carry out the six-point plan. For instance, the status and circumstances of thousands of detainees remains unclear and there are reports of significant abuses. No substantive progress has been achieved on humanitarian access to those in need, or on increasing the capacity of the humanitarian organizations on the ground.

Clearly, the elements of the six-point plan are all closely interlinked. We have today made an important step on one of the six elements. Others need to follow with the goal of enabling, as quickly as possible, a political transition process towards a democratic and pluralistic system. In our view, accountability for the crimes committed must be a central element of the transition process. We have repeatedly stressed that there cannot be a return to the status quo ante.

In conclusion, I would like to applaud Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon for his strong leadership, and to reiterate our full support to the efforts of Joint Special Envoy Annan and his team.

Mr. Osorio (Colombia) (*spoke in Spanish*): Colombia associates itself with this second pronouncement by the Security Council within one week, which shows our firm determination to deal with the Syrian crisis. It is clear that violence in all its forms has not ceased and that there continue to be attacks and incidents that constitute violations of the ceasefire declared on 12 April. That is why we support the establishment of the United Nations Supervision Mission in Syria (UNSMIS), with a mandate to monitor a cessation of armed violence in all its forms by all parties and to oversee and ensure the full implementation of the six-point plan of the Joint Special Envoy of the United Nations and the League of Arab States, Mr. Kofi Annan.

We would hope that the broad presence on the ground will make it possible for us to follow up and monitor on an ongoing basis the fulfilment of the conditions set out in the six-point plan, to which the Syrian Government and the opposition have committed themselves. To that end, the resolution requests the Secretary-General to inform the Security Council

immediately of any obstacles preventing UNSMIS from doing its job. In that respect, we hope that the Syrian authorities will assume the responsibilities incumbent upon them.

The coordination and efforts of the Joint Special Envoy deserve our full support and gratitude. My delegation believes that his proposal is an ideal one to immediately put an end to all violence, ensure access to humanitarian assistance and to provide for a political transition, led by Syria towards a democratic pluralistic political system through the establishment of the necessary conditions for beginning a broad-based political dialogue between the Syrian Government and the entire spectrum of the Syrian opposition. That is why it is urgent that all parties effectively meet all of the conditions provided for in the proposal and in the commitments they have made and that the Syrian authorities put an end to violent repression and atrocities.

Mr. Loulichki (Morocco) (*spoke in Arabic*): Allow me first to express our sincere condolences to our colleagues from Pakistan for the crash of the aircraft yesterday. May God have mercy on the souls of the victims.

My delegation wishes to express the satisfaction of the Kingdom of Morocco at the fact that, in just one week, the Security Council has been able to adopt two important resolutions by consensus concerning Syria (resolutions 2042 (2012) and 2043 (2012)). We first welcomed the initial agreement between the Joint Special Representative and the Syrian Government on an immediate cessation of fighting and violence throughout Syria. However, while violence has decreased as compared with the immediate past, the fact that it continues to exists shows that both parties have not fully committed to their responsibilities. Now we are calling for a full cessation of all forms of violence.

The ministerial committee on Syria of the League of Arab States met this week. Among the meeting's results were a condemnation of the continuing acts of violence against Syrian civilians, a demand on the Syrian Government and all other parties to commit to a full cessation of violence, a call for close cooperation with the Joint Special Envoy of the United Nations and the League of Arab States, and the full implementation of his six-point plan. The committee also called on the Council to speed up the deployment of observers to Syria and to ensure the conditions and means necessary for the implementation of their mandate.

Today the Council has responded to those calls. It has unanimously agreed to the establishment of the United Nations Supervision Mission in Syria (UNSMIS), to be rapidly deployed on the ground at the discretion of the Secretary-General with the goal of putting an end to armed violence by all parties and fully supporting Mr. Annan's six-point plan. We sincerely hope that conditions will be met to allow for the deployment of UNSMIS on the ground as soon as possible.

We are convinced that the deployment of a United Nations mission will contribute to monitoring the commitment by all parties to a cessation of all forms of violence and to the success of the Annan six-point plan. In its resolution, the Security Council rightly expresses appreciation for the major efforts made by countries neighbouring Syria to assist Syrian refugees. It also expresses gratitude for the assistance provided by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to countries hosting refugees until they can return home.

By reaffirming its strong commitment to Syria's sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity, as well as to the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, today's resolution sends a very clear message to those who have any doubts as to our full commitment to a complete cessation of violence in Syria and to the success of Mr. Annan's six-point plan, so that work can begin as soon as possible towards a peaceful political settlement of the crisis in Syria in a manner that responds to the aspirations of our Syrian brothers and sisters.

The past few weeks have shown the importance of unity in the Security Council, as well as the effect of that unity on the course of events and on the parties' commitment to their promises. We hope that such unity in the Council will have an impact on the full implementation of Mr. Annan's six-point plan and on the return of stability and a future of democracy for the Syrian people — one which responds to the aspirations of all segments.

Sir Mark Lyall Grant (United Kingdom): It has been one week since the Council unanimously adopted resolution 2042 (2012), authorizing the deployment of an advance team of 30 unarmed military observers to Syria. The Council was clear about the obligations on

the regime to cease troop movements towards population centres, end the use of heavy weapons and begin the pull-back of military forces from in and around population centres. It was also unambiguous in its call for the advance team to operate under appropriate conditions, including the requirement that the regime ensure full and unimpeded freedom of movement. We committed to deploy a larger mission only after a sustained cessation of violence.

Unfortunately, since the adoption of resolution 2042 (2012), the regime has done little to demonstrate that it has any intention of taking the steps necessary to end the crisis. On the contrary, we have witnessed a further escalation of the regime's brutality. It has continued to use heavy weapons, shelling Homs and other cities, in violation of its commitments to the United Nations. It has restricted the advance team's freedom of movement, in a flagrant effort to hide the truth about its shameful acts of brutality and destruction.

Nevertheless, the Secretary-General has recommended that a larger team be deployed. We share his judgment that such a mission could help shift the dynamic on the ground. We have therefore worked constructively on ensuring the rapid authorization of the Mission. We welcome the unanimous adoption today of resolution 2043 (2012).

The United Kingdom believes that a mission that is able to operate effectively could have a positive impact on the ground, in terms of both saving lives and ushering in a Syrian-led political transition. The resolution comes following the preliminary understanding reached between the Syrian Government and the United Nations on the mandate and operating conditions of the Mission. It is essential that it now be implemented in full.

A larger mission, provided that it has freedom of movement and the use of air assets as called for in the resolution, will be able to monitor more locations. The mandate is not just to monitor a cessation of violence, but to monitor and support the full implementation of the six-point proposal, including the elements related to political detentions, ensuring freedom of demonstration and association, human rights, access for journalists and the political transition. That is why it will include a strong civilian component, with a range of skills, including political, human rights and civil affairs.

It is a measure of the depth of international concern that we are ready to deploy unarmed United Nations personnel into such a dangerous environment. It is fraught with risk. The Mission will fail in its task if the regime continues to violate its commitments and obstruct the work of the Mission. The Mission and the Joint Special Envoy's six-point proposal represent the last opportunity for the Syrian regime to reverse course and to allow a peaceful solution to the crisis in Syria to emerge. Continued failure of the regime to meet its commitments or any attempt to hinder the work of the Mission must be met with robust sanctions by the Council.

Mr. Moraes Cabral (Portugal): In his letter of 19 April 2012 (S/2012/238), the Secretary-General recommended that the Security Council authorize the United Nations Supervision Mission in Syria (UNSMIS). The Mission will have to not only monitor a cessation of armed violence in all its forms by all parties, but also to monitor and support the full implementation of the Joint Special Envoy's six-point proposal. Resolution 2043 (2012) is the Council's unified and swift reaction to those recommendations.

Today, the Security Council has sent yet another clear and united message to the Syrian authorities that the cessation of armed violence must be respected in full and that immediate action is needed on all aspects of the six-point proposal. In that regard, we express our grave concern over the escalation in violence and casualties in recent days and over the fact that the cessation of armed violence in all its forms remains clearly incomplete, in a serious breach of resolution 2042 (2012).

Also, the widespread violations of human rights continue unabated, as stated in shocking detail in the Secretary-General's letter. They must cease forthwith, and accountability for such violations must be guaranteed. Likewise, the humanitarian situation is worsening by the day. Full and unimpeded humanitarian access is of the utmost urgency. Portugal renews its call to all parties, in particular the Syrian authorities, to cooperate fully with the United Nations and relevant humanitarian organizations.

In that regard, allow me to express my country's deep appreciation for the assistance that neighbouring States have been providing for over a year now to those fleeing violence, persecution and repression, despite

the disruption that the situation in Syria has brought to their own countries.

As we have repeatedly stated, the six-point proposal represents the last chance for a peaceful political solution to the Syrian crisis. The Syrian authorities must, once and for all, demonstrate serious intent and match actions with stated commitments. Portugal sincerely hopes that, following 13 months of horrific repression, which has caused many thousands of deaths and unimaginable human suffering, the deployment of the United Nations Supervision Mission will indeed help to change the dynamics on the ground and create the conditions conducive to a Syrian-led political transition that meets the legitimate democratic aspirations of the Syrian people.

For that to happen, the Syrian Government must implement immediately and visibly all its commitments under the six-point plan in their entirety, including the withdrawal of troops and heavy weapons from population centres to their barracks to facilitate the sustained cessation of violence. It must also ensure the technical operation of the Mission as set out in today's resolution and the preliminary understanding of 19 April 2012.

As I already stated, the six-point proposal represents the last hope of avoiding an all-out civil war in Syria with dire consequences for both the people of Syria and the region. That is why we voted in favour of today's resolution, notwithstanding all the inherent risks.

We call upon all parties to seize the opportunity that today's resolution represents for a sustained peace and a meaningful political process in Syria, and therefore to cease all armed violence in all its forms and cooperate fully with the United Nations Supervision Mission. We also reiterate our appreciation and full support for the efforts of the Secretary-General and of the Joint Special Envoy of the United Nations and the League of Arab States. We urge all parties to engage constructively with Joint Special Envoy Annan on a credible Syrian-led political process that will meet the legitimate aspirations of the Syrian people for peace, freedom, democracy and equality.

Mr. Mehdiyev (Azerbaijan): Azerbaijan has been consistent in its support of the efforts aimed at ending the violence, overcoming the crisis in Syria and finding a solution by peaceful means and through dialogue. Like all Security Council members, we have also expressed our full support for the Joint Special Envoy of the United Nations and the League of Arab States, Mr. Kofi Annan, and his six-point proposal. As we all want a peaceful solution to the Syrian crisis, it should be emphasized once again that there is no alternative to the mission of the Joint Special Envoy. He should enjoy the uninterrupted support of the international community for the work that he is doing.

With the adoption of resolution 2043 (2012) today, authorizing the deployment of the United Nations Supervision Mission in Syria, another milestone has been reached in addressing the Syrian crisis through peaceful means. We believe that the United Nations Supervision Mission will be instrumental in monitoring the cessation of armed violence in all its forms by all parties and in monitoring and supporting the full implementation of the Joint Special Envoy's six-point proposal. It is very important that the resolution adopted today once again reaffirms the strong commitment of the Security Council to the sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity of Syria.

Azerbaijan voted in favour of today's resolution with the hope that its adoption will contribute to ongoing efforts aimed at ending violence and human rights violations, facilitating a dialogue, overcoming the crisis and sustaining the progress achieved on the ground.

Mr. Sangqu (South Africa): Following the adoption of resolution 2042 (2012), a week ago, South Africa welcomes the acceptance by the Syrian Government of the advance team of the observer mission and its rapid deployment on the ground. We are pleased to note from the letter of the Secretary-General (S/2012/238) that, despite some challenges, the advance team has enjoyed freedom of movement and has not observed major military concentrations or conflict.

We welcome the news that the advance team has been able to visit key hotspots of the conflict, including Homs, and that it has observed calm and an end to major hostilities. The deployment of the advance team has already proved to be a calming influence, as violence has decreased with its presence. The marked decrease in violence should now be sustained. We emphasize that there is an urgent need for the violence to cease and for all parties to comply with all aspects of the six-point proposal put forward by Joint Special Envoy Kofi Annan.

In view of the Secretary-General's statement that a supervision mission will be important to sustain peace and a meaningful political process in the country, we welcome the unanimous adoption of resolution 2043 (2012) by the Council today, thereby providing for the expeditious deployment of the United Nations Supervision Mission in Syria (UNSMIS). We urge all sides to help assure UNSMIS's effective operation by facilitating its work and guaranteeing the safety of its personnel. Its deployment will be important for ensuring that Joint Special Envoy Kofi Annan's six-point plan is implemented; it will also play a crucial role in efforts towards the goal of ensuring that all sides commit to a peaceful dialogue, designed to promote an all-inclusive negotiation process leading to a political outcome that responds to the legitimate aspirations of the Syrian people.

Finally, it is equally important that all members of the international community give this resolution and the Annan plan the chance to succeed, and that they uphold and respect the sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity of Syria, as well as the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

Mr. Li Baodong (China) (*spoke in Chinese*): China was a sponsor of resolution 2043 (2012), which we have just adopted. China has always maintained that Syria's independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity — as well as the choice and will of the Syrian people — should be respected. We have always supported and are actively committed to promoting a just, peaceful and proper settlement of the Syrian crisis through political dialogue. The good offices of Joint Special Envoy Kofi Annan constitute a practical way out and an important channel through which to steer a political settlement of the crisis, and he has made positive and significant progress. We urge all parties, including the Syrian Government and the opposition, to cooperate fully with his efforts in order to create the conditions for launching a Syrian-led, inclusive political process.

We also call on the international community to maintain its firm support for Mr. Annan's efforts and to help consolidate the results achieved so far. We are strongly opposed to any words or deeds that may create difficulties for Mr. Annan in his work. The immediate and full deployment of the United Nations Supervision Mission in Syria (UNSMIS) is critical to solidifying Mr. Annan's progress and promoting the full implementation of his six-point proposal. We hope that the Supervision Mission will fully respect Syria's sovereignty and dignity, act strictly in accordance with what the Security Council has authorized, adhere to the principles of neutrality, objectivity and impartiality, and play an active and constructive role in pushing for a sustained cessation of violence in Syria. We also call on the Syrian Government and other relevant parties to support and cooperate with UNSMIS.

Mr. Rosenthal (Guatemala) (*spoke in Spanish*): Exactly one week ago, Guatemala voted to adopt resolution 2042 (2012). In spite of the fact that not all the conditions laid down in that resolution have been met before the next step is taken, today we again voted to adopt the new resolution, 2043 (2012). We did so on the recommendation of the Secretary-General and of Joint Special Envoy Kofi Annan, and in order to be consistent with the position we have taken on the events in Syria since their beginning.

While we share the scepticism expressed by various members of the Council regarding the commitment of the Government of Syria to complying with all six points in the Special Envoy's proposal — points that the Government has committed to — we believe that the best course of action is to give the Government and the members of the opposition the benefit of the doubt, and to trust that the presence of United Nations observers on the ground will make a genuine difference to the capacity of the United Nations and the League of Arab States to help find a way out of this crisis.

We should remember that while the task at hand is to put an immediate end to the violence, a lasting solution requires negotiations among every sector of Syrian society to reach a peaceful agreement characterized by inclusive democratization and a respect for human rights. That is a noble objective, and we believe that it is worth taking this chance to see it fulfilled — perhaps the last chance of avoiding far worse evils.

Mr. Hardeep Singh Puri (India): Let me begin by thanking the Russian delegation for introducing the draft resolution that the Security Council has adopted unanimously today as resolution 2043 (2012). It is a significant step in the Council's collective support for the efforts of the Joint Special Envoy, Mr. Kofi Annan.

It is a matter for satisfaction that Mr. Annan's efforts over the past seven weeks have resulted in an improvement in the situation in Syria. Although there

have been reports of violations, the ceasefire that came into force on 12 April has been observed by all parties in a large part of Syria. Obviously, there is a need to sustain the gains made so far. That should be facilitated by the expeditious deployment of the United Nations Supervision Mission in Syria (UNSMIS), authorized by today's resolution.

That resolution is also an appeal to all parties to walk back from violence, so that impartial supervision and monitoring of the ceasefire can contribute to the parties' observing and upholding their commitment. We voted in favour of resolution 2043 (2012) with the expectation that UNSMIS will implement its mandate impartially, objectively and fairly, and will help the Syrian parties build on the ceasefire and begin an inclusive, Syrian-led political process that will meet the legitimate aspirations of the Syrian people. For the Annan plan to succeed, all parties must implement their respective commitments under the six-point proposal. We note that the preliminary understanding signed on 19 April by the Syrian Government and the United Nations sets out clear conditions that have to be met by the Government and the armed opposition groups. We hope that all parties, including the opposition, will abide by those conditions.

While the Syrian parties cooperate with UNSMIS and the Joint Special Envoy, it is also essential that all countries interested in securing peace and stability in Syria lend their full support to Mr. Annan and UNSMIS, and that they refrain from any action that might cause further bloodshed. This will help to expeditiously resolve the Syrian crisis, as well as to ensure that it does not spill beyond Syria's borders.

Mr. Tarar (Pakistan): Let me begin by thanking the Kingdom of Morocco for its condolences on yesterday's tragic air crash in Pakistan.

Pakistan welcomes the unanimous adoption of resolution 2043 (2012), which builds on resolution 2042 (2012) and earlier agreements of the Council. Today we have taken another significant step forward in the process that we hope will lead to a peaceful resolution of the crisis in Syria. It is also another reaffirmation of the Council's united backing of the efforts of the Joint Special Envoy, Kofi Annan. The continuing spirit of accommodation exhibited by all Council members in this regard is highly appreciated.

With this resolution, the Council has authorized the establishment of the United Nations Supervision Mission in Syria to monitor the cessation of armed violence in all its forms by all parties, and to monitor and support the full implementation of the six-point proposal of the Special Envoy. By authorizing the Mission, we hope that the dynamics on the ground will change, resulting in a complete cessation of violence and creating conditions conducive to an inclusive, Syrian-owned and Syrian-led dialogue process. It would thus lead to achieving the overall objective of the Council of promoting a peaceful political solution to the situation in Syria, with full respect for its unity, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

We call upon all sides in Syria to fully cooperate with the Mission so as to enable it to carry out its mandate effectively and in full safety and security. All sides, particularly the Government of Syria, must fulfil their responsibilities and commitments.

We also expect the Mission to undertake its work with the utmost neutrality and objectivity. At the same time, we would like to recall and caution that any steps or efforts that could undermine the work of the mission or the Special Envoy must be avoided.

Finally, let me reiterate Pakistan's continued support for all efforts towards the fulfilment of our common objective of a peaceful political settlement of the Syrian crisis. It is that spirit that we decided to co-sponsor the resolution.

Mr. Menan (Togo) (*spoke in French*): Togo, like the other members of the Security Council, welcomes the adoption of resolution 2043 (2012), which reflects the unity of action that has prevailed within the Council since we adopted resolution 2042 (2012) a week ago. By voting in favour of the resolution, Togo has reaffirmed its firm support for Mr. Annan's mission as well as for the efforts made by the Secretary-General and all stakeholders striving for a swift return to peace in Syria.

Togo remains convinced that the achievement of a peaceful and prosperous Syria is first and foremost the responsibility of the Syrians themselves — presidential and opposition supporters alike. It is for that reason that Togo calls on all Syrians, from whatever side, to strive for a more effective implementation of the resolution that the Council has just adopted.

Ms. Rice (United States of America): I shall now make a statement in my capacity as the representative of the United States.

The United States voted in favour of resolution 2043 (2012) authorizing the establishment of the United Nations Supervision Mission in Syria, but we are sober about the risks, all the more so given the Al-Assad regime's long record of broken promises, deceit and disregard for the most basic standards of humanity.

The Syrian people, like us, know that the deployment of 300, or even 3,000, unarmed observers cannot on its own stop the Al-Assad regime from waging its barbaric campaign of violence against the Syrian people.

What can bring a halt to that murderous rampage is continued and intensified external pressure on the Al-Assad regime. The Syrian opposition has said that it welcomes the deployment of the United Nations military observers and additional human rights and other civilian monitors, because they will be impartial eyes and ears on the ground to bear witness to the Syrian Government's flagrant and persistent violations of its commitments. Even more so, the Syrian people expect, and deserve, that the Council will stand behind today's resolution and ensure that swift and meaningful consequences are imposed should the regime continue to flout its obligations.

Since the adoption of resolution 2042 (2012), exactly one week ago, in which the Council unanimously called on the Syrian Government to honour all its obligations, including a sustained cessation of violence, the regime has unleashed yet another wave of horrific violence against its own people, resulting in the death of scores of Syrians daily. The Government's use of shelling and heavy weaponry, in particular in Homs, has reached levels that surpass those before the ceasefire. Syrian Government troops in armour have not been withdrawn from cities and returned to barracks; protesters are still being intimidated and murdered by Government forces; the status of thousands of detainees remains unclear; and precious little progress has been made on the issue of humanitarian access, with an estimated 1 million civilians still in urgent need of humanitarian assistance.

The Security Council has called upon the Government to take concrete action. The Syrian Government has ignored the Council. In the United States, our patience is exhausted. Let me be plain: no one should assume that the United States will agree to renew this Mission at the end of 90 days. If there is not a sustained cessation of violence, full freedom of movement for United Nations personnel and rapid, meaningful progress on other aspects — all other aspects — of the six-point plan, then we must all conclude that the Mission will have run its course.

We will not wait 90 days to pursue measures against the Syrian Government if it continues to violate its commitments or obstruct the monitors' work. We express our deep gratitude to the monitors who are now embarking on this unprecedented and risky mission. We should be under no illusions: they are going to be dependent for security on the very Government that is responsible for the main security threats.

They are going to be deployed in the midst of protesters who are desperate for a protection that the monitors are not equipped or mandated to provide, and they will be deployed in numbers too small to cover the entire country but large enough to give rise to expectations that will be impossible to meet if the Syrian Government does not fulfil its commitments towards a sustained cessation of violence.

All of our experience with United Nations peacekeeping over the last 65 years teaches us that such missions require that there be a peace to keep in order for them to succeed.

The opposition has said that it wants and needs this Mission, hoping that the presence of the monitors will have a restraining effect on the Syrian Government and help uphold the rights of the Syrian people to assemble and express themselves freely. If that hope does not materialize, however, the failure will be the Syrian Government's, and it must be held accountable. And we must be prepared to do so, given the Al-Assad regime's track record to date.

The United States strongly supports the full implementation of the Joint Special Envoy's six-point plan. Yet let there be no doubt: we, our allies and others in this body are planning and preparing for those actions that will be required of all of us if the Al-Assad regime persists in the slaughter of the Syrian people.

I now resume my functions as President of the Security Council.

I give the floor to the representative of the Syrian Arab Republic.

Mr. Ja'afari (Syrian Arab Republic) (*spoke in Arabic*): I followed with great interest the statements made by my colleagues members of the Council, and I

noticed that some of the statements calling on the Syrian Government to scrupulously implement the provisions of the resolution that has just been adopted are themselves not in consonance with those provisions, as they use — probably owing to a lack of awareness — the term "regime" in referring to the Syrian Government. I studied the resolution but I did not come across the term "regime" therein. I saw the words "Syrian Government".

Yesterday morning, I met with the Secretary-General and his senior aides. I appealed to him to continue his good offices, as mandated of him by the Charter, and to further engage positively in the efforts being made to guarantee the desired national political solution, with Syrian leadership. That is crux of the Annan plan. I should now like to take this opportunity to address to the Council the same appeal I addressed to the Secretary-General yesterday morning.

Since the beginning of the crisis, the Syrian Government has been open to any sincere and impartial efforts and initiatives to help it emerge from the current crisis affecting the Syrian Government, State and people, while preserving its sovereignty without prejudice to the independent national resolution of the crisis and guaranteeing its stability and security.

My country has demonstrated considerable cooperation and commitment vis-à-vis the efforts of Joint Special Envoy Kofi Annan, based on our interest in achieving a peaceful political solution to the Syrian crisis. The Syrian Government has implemented the part of the Annan plan relating to its responsibilities. We continue to inform the Special Envoy regularly in writing of the measures being taken in that regard on a daily basis, including the release of a number of the detainees who were not responsible for crimes, the delivery of humanitarian assistance to the affected regions in cooperation with the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, and the granting of visas to a great many members of the media — over 600 all told.

I am pleased to announce today, on behalf of my country's Government, that Syria has informed Mr. Annan today of its implementation of article 2 of the plan, as well as all of the subsidiary paragraphs of that article, namely, (a), (b) and (c).

The forces responsible for maintaining public order and the police forces will ensure the maintenance of security, order and law and will exercise the utmost degree of restraint. They will be prepared, as the Governments of the countries represented here and those of any State of the world would be, to carry out their duties in responding to armed terrorist groups if they continue to attack citizens, Government forces and public and private property and if they continue to commit acts of violence. Our national army and armed forces will remain prepared to defend our homeland's territory and borders against any aggression, ensuring the protection of strategic centres and sites such as ports, airports, international routes, oil refineries and infrastructure facilities.

The dispatching of impartial monitors to the Syrian Arab Republic was a basic Syrian demand, which stems from a position of strength and self-confidence. The motive behind that demand is the fact that global public opinion is well aware of the reality of the situation and monitors the crimes of armed terrorist groups, disregarding political and media misinformation.

That Syrian position was initially demonstrated by the reception of the team of the Arab League monitors, which submitted an objective report documenting the crimes of terrorists against our people and institutions. This prompted the Governments of Qatar and Saudi Arabia to withdraw their monitors, which led to the termination of the mission, fully ignoring the mission's report.

My Government has reiterated once again its willingness to cooperate and its openness by recently signing, in Damascus, the preliminary agreement that governs the work of the United Nations Supervision Mission in the Syrian Arab Republic in the framework of respecting Syrian sovereignty and guaranteeing the commitment of all parties. Our Government is ready to sign the protocol regulating the deployment of the United Nations monitors when the United Nations is ready to do so, on the basis of the preliminary agreement.

My country has a vested interest in the success of the work of the Mission, given our keenness to achieve stability, safety and security for our country and our citizens. We would like to state here that the monitors must carry out their work on the basis of objectivity, impartiality and professionalism.

Some parties have responded to this clear-cut commitment by the Syrian Government by carrying out a hysterical campaign of questioning, which clearly

reveals their bad intentions in principle towards the Syrian Arab Republic, its homeland and its people. This demonstrates that they are frustrated by the initial return of stability and calm to Syria.

Armed terrorist groups met that Syrian commitment to the Annan plan with a lengthy series of violations that undermine the Annan plan. They have escalated their terrorist acts, their killings of civilians and the forces of public order, and their destruction of public and private property. We have regularly provided Mr. Annan, the Secretary-General and the President of the Council with documented information on the total number of violations perpetrated by the armed groups since the 12 April ceasefire went into effect. As of yesterday, those violations now total 593 in number.

In that regard, we are gravely concerned about the curious ongoing disregard for the actions of those groups, which coincides with a systemic political misinformation campaign demonizing the Syrian authorities and the Syrian army and accusing the Syrian State of the crimes perpetrated by those groups by turning the facts on their heads while saying nothing about the crimes perpetrated by them.

All of that is designed to bring about the failure of the Annan plan and to hold Syrian authorities responsible for that failure, with a view to initiating military action under humanitarian pretexts. That is similar to the mendacious allegations that led to the destruction of Libyan infrastructure and the assassination of 150,000 civilians at the hands of NATO forces with the participation of Qatar.

Once again, Syria would like to reiterate its hope that Mr. Annan and the Security Council will address the crisis in a comprehensive manner, given the need to redouble efforts to achieve commitments by the armed groups and those standing behind them so that violence will cease.

The Syrian Government's support for the Annan mission is not enough to bring about its success. In word and deed, international, regional, Arab and other groups must cease to fund, arm and train the armed groups, desist from encouraging them to continue their terrorist acts and refrain from inciting the opposition to reject the comprehensive national dialogue.

Some of those who predict the failure of the Annan plan are doing their best to ensure that it does. A case in point is the statement made by the Emir of Qatar. Two days after the adoption of resolution 2042 (2012), he stated that the chance of the Annan plan succeeding did not exceed 3 per cent.

Creating parallel tracks to the Annan plan would undermine it and squander the efforts made to achieve a peaceful solution to the crisis. That includes the conferences attended by a number of States in Tunis, Istanbul and Paris, among others, at which alternative plans outside international legitimacy were sanctioned on the arming of the opposition and imposing sanctions, while rejecting peaceful solutions. Depriving the Syrian people of stability and development constituted the considerable triumph to which they aspire.

It is paradoxical that, following Syria's openness in dealing with the initiative, yet another parallel conference has been held to exacerbate the crisis, take the solution out of the political framework and undermine any positive efforts to stop the bloodshed.

I would like to emphasize an absolute truth: we reject interference in our internal affairs. We are keen to protect the sovereignty of our homeland while pressing ahead with the process of reform and comprehensive national dialogue, and we reject any type of dependency, trusteeship and direct or indirect occupation. Syrians are well aware that the forces that bear grudges against their country target all Syrians, trading on their suffering and legitimate aspirations in a bloody stock market in order to protect the interests of Israel, its defenders and allies.

On this occasion, the Ambassador of Germany said that his country is eager to protect minorities in Syria. In a previous statement, I said that there are no minorities or majorities in Syria, just one Syrian people proud of its religious and cultural diversity. That people does not want any radical wahabi or salafist factions to penetrate its ranks vis-à-vis terrorist trends propagated by Saudi Arabia and Qatar.

The President: There are no more names inscribed on the list of speakers. The Security Council has thus concluded the present state of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 12.25 p.m.